/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycué. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumé-Nhoengará, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuative art.

532 197 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113]

8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingué in

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532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
• 276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[197] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
197 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

• 276 [101] "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tabacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pétŷ guí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pétŷ ñandí" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.

[124] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

• 276 [824] a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi, guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ; furthermore, kýi ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Debrithoffer already mentions [415] that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-macaz/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes [824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one [178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter [439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One [192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pétỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communic" manner, two, three, or more persons: after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture [192] cigarettes (pétỹ ñemimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Nandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 184 [192] Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very young children: once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette, fearing that they will become dizzy: "tsedjuká." Among the Nandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paʼí*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[a]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapéi*. The *tapéi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 131 ff.

[a] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognised *paʼi*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *paʼi*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *paʼi* was judged and rated as a *paʼi guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *paʼi* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *paʼi guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *paʼi* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *paʼi* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupí-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *paʼi* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *paʼi* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *paʼi* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *paʼi* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Tapuare* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapiri*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273